PATTERNS OF BORROWING AND LANGUAGE ATTRITION: AMERICAN HUNGARIAN IN MCKEESPORT, PENNSYLVANIA

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1. Introduction*

The aim of this paper is to provide a comprehensive picture of changes related to borrowing and language attrition in the Hungarian language as spoken in McKeesport, Pennsylvania, through an account of the structural and lexical characteristics of this dialect, as revealed in a systematic study of the language of twenty Hungarian-American speakers.

Although detailed descriptive studies of American Hungarian have been published before (cf. Kontra (1990) and Fenyvesi (1995a)), overall patterns of borrowing and attrition in Hungarian-American communities have not yet been summarized to show the main directions of language change in this dialect. A bird's-eye view of the linguistic processes involved should, however, provide useful information for a further study of American Hungarian (AH), as well as for the study of other immigrant languages.

After briefly describing the methodology and the subjects for my study in § 2, I will report on linguistic features characteristic of the two generations of speakers (§ 3) and then give an account of characteristics of second-generation speakers' (§ 4) and of first-generation speakers' Hungarian (§ 5). I will conclude with a discussion of intra- and inter-generational tendencies in the two groups of speakers as well as the patterns and the amount of borrowing and language attrition features characteristic of their Hungarian (§ 6).

2. The study and the speakers

This report is based on the study in Fenyvesi (1995a), a detailed description of the phonology, morphology, syntax, and lexicon of AH as spoken by twenty members – four immigrants and sixteen US-born speakers – of the Hungarian-American community in McKeesport. In this study I described all 52 of the features in which McKeesport Hungarian differs from Standard Hungarian (SH) and from the Hungarian dialects as described in Imre (1971). About two thirds of these features were previously identified in AH by Kontra in his 1990 South Bend study, while the remaining third were first noted by me.

The corpus that I used comprised approximately six hours of recordings (about 15-20 minutes per subject), for a total of 242 typed pages of transcripts, of interviews about the

* I want to thank Sally Thomason for her comments on an earlier version of this paper, and also thank her, Christina Paulston, and Miklós Kontra for many discussions of linguistic, sociolinguistic, and Hungarian-American issues over the past years, and for their continuing support of my work. Any shortcomings are entirely my own.

subjects' life histories and Hungarian language use. Since my goal was to provide a complete description of McKeesport Hungarian, I did not specifically target the interviews towards eliciting any grammatical or lexical features in particular but used a freer informal interview format in the hope that the recordings would reflect language use as natural as can be expected in an interview setting. It is of course quite possible that certain features of McKeesport Hungarian never occurred in the interviews but would appear if more targeted ways of elicitation were employed; so I cannot, and do not, claim that my findings are complete. I am confident, however, that I have found the majority of the structural and lexical features characteristic of this speech community.

All but two of the speakers who participated in the study are members of the congregation of the Free Hungarian Reformed Church in McKeesport, a community of approximately one hundred people, mostly of Hungarian descent. The two remaining subjects live in nearby Pittsburgh but are insiders in the McKeesport community since they often attend Hungarian community events and social gatherings there. The majority of the subjects are over sixty years old.

All four of the first-generation speakers came to the US in their twenties, until which point they could speak only Hungarian. Two came after the 1956 Hungarian revolution and have thus lived in this country for over 35 years; the other two came to the US later and have lived here for 24 and 8 years, respectively.

Fourteen of the sixteen second-generation speakers are children of turn-of-the-century immigrants; all are in their sixties or older. They have known each other for many decades, often since childhood. One second-generation speaker is in his forties – his parents immigrated to the US in the 1940s – and one is in his early twenties, the son of a 1956 immigrant.

McKeesport is a town of approximately 26,000 people. It was formerly a heavily industrialized steel town which had its heyday before World War II. It had thriving ethnic communities of Eastern European origin earlier in this century, among them Polish, Serbian, Slovak, and Hungarian enclaves. Today only small fragmented remnants of these communities remain, mostly comprised of elderly people whose younger relatives moved elsewhere after the decline of the region's steel industry. In the first half of this century there was ample opportunity to speak Hungarian in McKeesport, in the several churches, shops, bars, and social clubs. Today there is only one church and one social club; there are no longer any shops or other establishments where Hungarian would be spoken.

The community of the Free Hungarian Church of McKeesport is very homogeneous socially and economically: its members are almost exclusively working-class people. From its origin at around the turn of the century, the community was made up of working-class and peasant immigrants, and even after 1956, when another sizable wave of immigrants

came to the US, only working-class Hungarians came to settle in McKeesport. The community is fairly homogeneous as far as the Hungarian dialectal background is concerned: most community members (including all but three of the speakers in this study) trace their ancestors to the northeastern region of Hungary, the area covered by the pre-1920 counties of Abaúj, Zemplén, Ung, Ugocsa, and Szatmár.

Today Hungarian is rarely used in McKeesport, and, linguistically, it can be considered to be dying (in the sense of Dorian 1981:8): children no longer learn it at home, and it is hardly used in everyday conversations. Contact with speakers of SH is rare; visitors from Hungary are rare (perhaps one a year visits in the community, and when they come, they are often more eager to practice their English than to speak Hungarian with their hosts), and most of the community members have never visited Hungary (and those who have have usually been there only once or twice).

The only situation in which Hungarian is used for conversation in McKeesport is a conversation between spouses or long-time friends when at least one member of the dyad is a first-generation speaker – and even in those cases Hungarian is used interchangeably with English. Because of the nature of the speech situations in which Hungarian is used – between people who know each other well and have known each other for a long time – the stylistic range of the Hungarian that is used there now is fairly narrow and is limited to the informal register. As for the English proficiency of the McKeesport speakers, those born in the US have native fluency, while the immigrants can communicate effectively but without native-like grammatical accuracy.

3. Features characteristic of both generations

In this section I consider features of McKeesport Hungarian which are found regularly in both generations of speakers in my data. More precisely, these features occur in the speech of at least two of the four first-generation subjects and at least 12 out of the 16 second-generation speakers. The subject-by-subject distribution of the features discussed in this section is given in Table 1[1].

In the phonology, the following changes occur in the speech of both generations: degemination of intervocalic geminates (abbreviated as DeG in Table 1), stress changes in

[1] In the tables, first-generation subjects are designated by „f" and a number, and second-generation subjects are designated by „s" and a number. A „+" sign refers to the occurrence of the feature everywhere where it could occur, „+/-„ indicates that the feature in question occurs in some, but not all of the cases where it could potentially occur, „-„ indicates the absence of the feature, and a „Ø" indicates that in the given speaker's data no context occurs where the feature in question could appear.

words (SCw), stress changes in phrases (SCp), and English-like rising yes/no-question intonation (YNq) in place of the SH rising-falling one.

Degemination of intervocalic geminates does not occur in SH (where geminates degeminate only next to another consonant). In the McKeesport data it occurs obligatorily in the speech of 8 of the second-generation speakers, and optionally in that of the other 8 (although even for these speakers degemination is much more frequent than the lack of it), while first-generation speakers retain most of their intervocalic geminates but degeminate some of them, with varying frequency. Degemination occurs both within words and across word boundaries:[2]

(1) a. /sülɛt+t+ɛk/ → [ˈsülɛtɛk] 'they were born' (vs. SH [ˈsülɛttɛk])

b. /vissɔ#yö+tt+ɛm/ → [ˈvisɔyöt̪ɛm] 'I came back' (vs. SH [ˈvissɔyöttɛm])

c. /ɔnʸɔ+m##mɛg/ → [ˈɔnʸa:mɛg] 'and my mother' (vs. SH [ˈɔnʸa:mmɛg])

d. /huson#öt##ta:y+bɔn/ → [ˈhusonöta:ybɔ] 'around '25' (vs. SH [ˈhusonötta:ybɔ])

[2] Throughout this paper, I will use phonetic transcription in the examples illustrating phonology, and a broad phonetic transcription based on Hungarian orthography in the examples from morphology, syntax, and the lexicon. In the latter type of transcription, the capital letters *L* and *R* in AH forms stand for velarized *l*'s and retroflex vocoid *r*'s, respectively; Standard Hungarian forms are given in Standard Hungarian orthography.

Table 1. Features characteristic of both generations, by subject.

	Phonology				Morphology			Syntax			Lexicon	
Subject	DeG	SCw	SCp	YNq	Lcs	Rcs	Lpd	Lfoc	Fnec	Lpro	LW	CS
f1	+/-	+/-	+/-	-	+/-	-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+	+
f2	+/-	+/-	+/-	Ø	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+	+
f3	-	-	-	+	+/-	-	-	-	-	+/-	+	+
f4	+/-	+/-	-	+	-	+/-	-	-	+/-	-	+	+
s1	+/-	+/-	+/-	-	+/-	+/-	-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+	+
s2	+/-	+/-	+/-	+	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+	+
s3	+	+/-	+/-	+	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	-	+/-	+	+
s4	+/-	-	-	+	-	+/-	-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+	+
s5	+	+/-	+/-	+	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+	+
s6	+	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+	+
s7	+/-	+/-	+/-	-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+	+
s8	+	+/-	+/-	+	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+	+
s9	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+	+
s10	+/-	+/-	+/-	Ø	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	-	+/-	+	+
s11	+/-	+/-	+/-	Ø	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+	+
s12	+	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+	+
s13	+	+/-	+/-	+	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	-	+/-	+	+
s14	+	+/-	+/-	+	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	-	+/-	+	+
s15	+	+/-	-	+	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+	+
s16	+/-	+/-	-	+	-	+/-	+/-	-	+/-	+/-	+	+

Although word-initial stress (which is uniform in SH) is definitely prevalent in the speech of all McKeesport speakers, a change in word stress (i.e. noninitial stress) occasionally occurs in three of the first-generation speakers and in all the second-generation speakers except one. Examples like those in (2) are typical:

(2) a. /ɔmɛrikɔ+i/ → [ɔˈmɛrikɔi] 'American' (vs. SH [ˈɔmɛrikɔi])

b. /bɔra:t+ɔi+m+to:l/ → [ˌbɔrˈa:tɔimtul] 'from my friends' (vs. SH [ˈbɔra:tɔimtol])

c. /ɔla:#tɛ+tt+e:k/ → [ɔˈla:tɛte:k] 'they put it under it' (vs. SH [ˈɔla:tɛtte:k])

d. /mɛg#tɔnul/ → [ˌmɛktɔˈnul] 's/he learns (vs. SH [ˈmɛktɔnul])

e. /sa:z#ɛzɛr/ → [ˌsa:zˈɛzɛr] 'a hundred thousand' (vs. SH [ˈsa:zɛzɛr])

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f4	+/-	+/-	-	+	-	+/-	-	-	+/-	-	+	+
s1	+/-	+/-	+/-	-	+/-	+/-	-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+	+
s2	+/-	+/-	+/-	+	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+	+
s3	+	+/-	+/-	+	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	-	+/-	+	+
s4	+/-	-	-	+	-	+/-	-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+	+
s5	+	+/-	+/-	+	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+	+
s6	+	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+	+
s7	+/-	+/-	+/-	-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+	+
s8	+	+/-	+/-	+	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+	+
s9	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+	+
s10	+/-	+/-	+/-	Ø	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	-	+/-	+	+
s11	+/-	+/-	+/-	Ø	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+	+
s12	+	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+	+
s13	+	+/-	+/-	+	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	-	+/-	+	+
s14	+	+/-	+/-	+	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	-	+/-	+	+
s15	+	+/-	-	+	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+	+
s16	+/-	+/-	-	+	-	+/-	+/-	-	+/-	+/-	+	+

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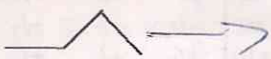
e. /sa:z#ɛzɛr/ → [ˌsa:zˈɛzɛr] 'a hundred thousand' (vs. SH [ˈsa:zɛzɛr])

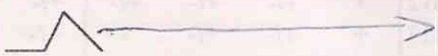
Stress changes in phrases occur mainly in noun phrases containing an adjective or quantifier and in phrases with negatives; these changes are found in the speech of two of the first-generation speakers and all but two of the second-generation speakers. Typical examples are given in (3)[3].

(3) a. /šok##pe:nz+t/ → [ˈšokˈˈpʰeynzɛt] 'a lot of money.ACC' (vs. SH [ˈˈšokpe:nst])
b. /yo:##kɛdv+ɛ/ → [ˈyo:ˈˈkɛdvɛ] 'her good mood' (vs. SH [ˈˈyo:kɛdvɛ])
c. /nɛm##mošt/ → [ˈnɛmˈˈmošt] 'not now' (vs. SH [ˈˈnɛmmošt])

The development of English-like rising yes/no-question intonation in AH (instead of the SH rising-falling intonation) occurs in the speech of three of the four first-generation speakers and eleven of the sixteen second-generation speakers (one of the three subjects in the former group and three of the eleven in the latter group also have SH-like rising-falling intonation in some yes/no-questions). Typical examples include those in (4):

(4) a. [volta:l ma:r ott] 'Have you been there yet?' (vs. SH [volta:l ma:r ott])

b. [mɔdʸɔrul] 'In Hungarian?' (vs. SH [mɔdʸɔrul])

In the morphology, the features that are characteristic of both generations are the loss of case suffixes (abbreviated as Lcs in Table 1), replacement of one case suffix by another (Rcs), and the loss of personal possessive suffixes in the dative possessive construction (Lpd).

Although most of the SH case suffixes are present and are used in a SH-like way in the McKeesport data, they are absent in 94 instances where they would be required in SH. These omissions occur in the speech of two of the first-generation subjects and fourteen of the sixteen second-generation speakers. The most frequently lost cases are the accusative *-t* (about 30% of all omissions), the inessive *-ban* (about 25%), and the superessive *-n* (about 18%). Two examples are given in (5):[4]

[3] Even though under specific circumstances, e.g. under contrastive stress, these examples could have an AH-like stress in SH as well, none of them actually occur in the appropriate circumstances in the interviews.

[4] In the examples from morphology and syntax I underline the AH words and phrases which are contrasted with the SH forms. In syntax examples the emphasized elements appear in boldface.

(5) a. A magyar nehezeb vona óvasni
the Hungarian difficult.CMP be.COND.3SG read.INF (vs. SH magyart
'It would be more difficult to read Hungarian [papers].' – accusative)
b. eLmentünk a Liget. (vs. SH ligetbe – illative)
PV.go.PAST.1PL the park
'We went to the park.'

Replacement of a case suffix by the suffix of another case occurs in the speech of two first-generation speakers and all of the second-generation speakers, altogether in 84 instances in the McKeesport data. Slightly over half of these replacements involve local cases used in locatives (as in 6a); the remaining instances involve various local and nonlocal cases in nonlocative functions (as in 6b-c). (For a more detailed analysis of these case features, see Fenyvesi (1996).)

(6) a. mi MagyarországboL jötünk (elative instead of SH delative,
we Hungary.ELA come.PAST.1PL Magyarországról)
'We came from Hungary.'
b. tartoztunk a fügetlen egyházon (superessive instead of SH
belong.PAST.1PL the independent church.SUP allative, egyházhoz)
'We belonged to the independent church.'
c. jötem anyukának (dative instead of SH allative, anyukához)
come.PAST.1SG mom.DAT
'I came to mom.'

The loss of personal possessive suffixes in the dative possessive construction – contrasting with SH in which the dative marks the possessor and the possessed noun is inflected for the person and number corresponding to the possessor – occurs in the speech of two first-generation subjects and fourteen of the sixteen second-generation speakers, resulting in sentences like those in (7):

The abbreviations used in the glosses in this paper are the following: ACC = accusative case, AUX = auxiliary, CMP = comparative, COND = conditional, DAT = dative case, DEF = definite conjugation, ELA = elative case, ESS = essive case, FUT = future, INDEF = indefinite conjugation, INE = inessive case, INF = infinitive, PAST = past tense, PL = plural, POSS = possessive, PV = preverb, SG = singular, SUP = superessive case, and TEMP = temporal case.

(7) a. nekik vout themplom (vs. SH templomuk)
DAT.3PL be.PAST.3SG church
'They had a church.'
b. a Gabi nekem rokon (vs. SH rokonom)
the Gabi DAT.1SG relative
'Gabi is my relative.'

The syntactic features characteristic of both generations are the loss of Focus Movement and the concomitant change in word order (abbreviated in Table 1 as Lfoc), the movement of a nonemphasized constituent (Fnec), and the loss of *pro*-drop (Lpro).

Two of the first-generation speakers and all but one of the second-generation speakers produced sentences in which Focus Movement was missing and which had a word order where an object and any verbal adjuncts followed the verb. (In SH emphasized constituents, objects and adjuncts alike, are moved by Focus Movement to preverbal position.) Some examples are given in (8):[5]

(8) a. Én imádkozok **kétszer**. (vs. SH **Kétszer** imádkozok.)
I pray.1SG twice
'I pray **twice**.'
b. (:Well:), mikor mi votunk **fiatalok**, ...(vs. SH Amikor **fiatalok** voltunk)
well when we be.PAST.1PL young.PL
'Well, when we were young, ...'

The use of Focus Movement to prepose a nonemphasized constituent occurs in the speech of three first-generation speakers and 12 of the second-generation subjects. Examples are given in (9):

(9) a. És öü **huszonedzs doláR** edzs hounapra kapot.
and he twenty-one dollar a month.SUB receive.PAST.3SG
'And he was given **twenty-one dollars** a month.'
(vs. SH **Huszonegy** dollárt kapott egy hónapra.)
b. a mi themplomunk vout **a magyar**
the we church.POSS.1PL be.PAST.3SG the Hungarian
'our church was **Hungarian**' (vs. SH A mi templomunk **magyar** volt.)

[5] Linguistic material pronounced by each subject in his or her usual American English pronunciation is enclosed in colons and parentheses, as in (8b).

Examples of the loss of *pro*-drop can be found in the speech of three of the first-generation speakers and all of the second-generation speakers, these usually co-occur with one of the focus features. For examples, see (8a-b) and (9a).)

The lexical features shared by both generations of speakers are the presence of loanwords (abbreviated as LW) and codeswitching (CS) in their speech. These occur in the speech of all McKeesport subjects without exception, regardless of generation.

Lexical borrowings occurring in the McKeesport data include such items as *muffol* 'to move' (SH *költözik*), *stór* 'store' (SH *bolt*), *bász* 'boss' (SH *főnök*), *ofic* 'office' (SH *iroda*), *fanesz* 'furnace' (SH *kazán*), *káré* 'car' (SH *autó*, or *kocsi*), *majna* '(coal) mine' (SH *bánya*), and *lófa* 'loaf' (SH *vèkni*).

Examples of codeswitching – specifically, the use of material from two languages within a single sentence – include those in (10), as well as in (8b) above:

(10) a. nem tudom (:for sure:).
not know.1SG for sure
'I don't know for sure.'

b. a fiatal tesvér (:I don't know if:) érti magyarul.
the young sibling I don't know if understand.3SG Hungarian.ESS
'My young sibling, I don't know if she understands Hungarian.'

A significant general point evident in the AH features that are characteristic of both generations is that, in the morphology and syntax, there is a tendency of change in AH from a more synthetic means of expression the various morphosyntactic functions to a more analytic means, through (among other things) overt pronouns and stricter word order. This trend can be seen in the incipient reduction of the case system and in the interconnected loss of Focus Movement and development of a word order where objects and verbal adjuncts follow the verb.

4. Features characteristic of the second generation

I will discuss the features characteristic of the members of the second generation in three groups: first those that occur in the speech of all 16 second-generation speakers then those that occur in the majority (14 or 15) of these subjects' speech, and finally those that occur in at least half of the second generation's speech. The occurrence of all three groups of features by subject is summarized in Table 2.

4.1. Features occurring in all second-generation subjects' speech

The three features shared by all of the second-generation speakers are phonological: the aspiration of word-initial voiceless stops (abbreviated as Asp in Table 2), the velarization of l's (Vel), and the loss of voicing assimilation (Lva).

Aspiration of the syllable-initial, and especially word-initial, voiceless stops /p, t, k/ occurs often in the speech of all the second-generation subjects, and does not occur at all in that of first-generation speakers. (SH has no aspiration in voiceless stops.) Thus, instead of SH-like forms such as [ˈtudom] 'I know' and [ˈtizɛnkilɛnts] 'nineteen', second-generation speakers produce forms like [ˈtʰudom] and [ˌtʰizɛnˈkʰilɛnts].

Second-generation speakers also realize most of their *l*'s phonetically as dark, i.e. velarized, instead of the dental 'light *l*' that occurs in all environments in SH. They thus pronounce /dolgozott/ 's/he worked' and /ligɛt/ 'park' as [ˈdoɬgozot] and [ˈɬigɛt] 'park', respectively. In the first generation, speakers retain SH-like light *l*'s – although the two immigrants who arrived earlier, in 1957, do velarize some of their *l*'s, but only very rarely.

The obligatory voicing assimilation of SH – under which all obstruents agree in voicing with a following *h* or obstruent (except *v*), word-internally or across a word boundary – is also lost in the speech of the second generation. All of these speakers exhibit extensive variability, assimilating sometimes and not assimilating at other times, as in e.g. [ˈlɛgtöbsör] and [ˈlɛktöbsör] instead of SH [ˈlɛktöpsör] 'most of the time' or [ˈmɛghɔlt] instead of SH [ˈmɛkhɔlt] 's/he died'. (For more information and a detailed analysis, see Fenyvesi (1995b).)

Table 2. Features characteristic of the second generation, by subject.

	Phonology									
Subject	Asp	Tap	RxR	Vel	Dip	VLe	DyJ	Voi	LCo	LvA
s1	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	-	-	+/-	+/-	-
s2	+/-	+/-	+	+/-	+/-	+/-	+	+/-	+	+
s3	+/-	+/-	+	+/-	+/-	+/-	+	+/-	-	Ø
s4	+/-	-	-	+/-	-	-	-	+/-	Ø	Ø
s5	+	+/-	+	+/-	+/-	+/-	+	+/-	+/-	+
s6	+	+/-	+	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+
s7	+/-	+/-	-	+/-	+/-	-	-	+/-	+/-	-
s8	+/-	-	+	+/-	+/-	-	+	+/-	+	Ø
s9	+/-	+/-	+	+/-	+/-	+/-	+	+/-	+/-	Ø
s10	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	-	-	+/-	Ø	Ø
s11	+/-	-	-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+	Ø
s12	+/-	-	-	+/-	+/-	-	+	+/-	+/-	+
s13	+/-	+/-	-	+/-	+/-	-	+/-	+/-	-	+
s14	+/-	-	-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+	+/-	-	+
s15	+/-	+/-	-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+	+/-	Ø	+
s16	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	-	-	+/-	+	+

	Morphology				Syntax					Lexicon		
Subject	Con	Pv	Lp	Ir	SV	QN	AN	SN	Sz	LC	Bs	Id
s1	+/-	+/-	-	+/-	+/-	+/-	-	+/-	+/-	+	+	+
s2	+/-	+/-	+/-	-	+/-	-	-	-	Ø	+	+	-
s3	+/-	-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	-	+/-	+	Ø	-
s4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
s5	+/-	+/-	-	+/-	+/-	-	-	+/-	+/-	+	+	+
s6	+/-	+/-	-	+/-	+/-	+/-	-	-	+/-	+	+	+
s7	+/-	-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	Ø	-	+	+
s8	+/-	+/-	-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+	+	+
s9	+/-	-	-	-	+/-	-	+/-	-	Ø	-	+	+
s10	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	Ø	+	+	+
s11	+/-	+/-	+/-	-	+/-	-	-	+/-	Ø	+	+	+
s12	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+	+	+
s13	+/-	+/-	+/-	-	+/-	+/-	+/-	-	Ø	+	+	+
s14	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	-	-	+/-	+/-	+	Ø	-
s15	+/-	+/-	-	+/-	+/-	-	-	-	Ø	+	+	-
s16	-	+/-	+/-	-	+/-	+/-	+/-	-	+/-	+	-	+

4.2. Features shared by most second-generation speakers

The characteristics that occur in the speech of all but one or two of the second-generation speakers are the following: diphthongization of long mid vowels (abbreviated as Dip in Table 2), mixing of the definite and indefinite conjugations (Con), the lack of agreement between subject and verb (SV), the use of lexical calques (LC), and the borrowing of 'sibling' words (Sb).

Diphthongization of the long mid vowels /e:, ö:, ü:/ occurs in the speech of all second-generation speakers except one; in sharp contrast, there is not a single occurrence of this feature in the samples from first-generation speakers. Typical examples are the AH forms [ˈeyv] 'year', [ˈföy̯zöt] 's/he cooked', and [ˈowhɔza:bɔ] 'in the old country' (cf. SH [ˈe:v], [ˈfö:zött], and [ˈo:hɔza:bɔn], respectively.) The source of this feature is not clear in McKeesport Hungarian since, in addition to the almost certain influence of American English, the influence of Hungarian dialect features cannot be discounted: diphthongization of these vowels occurs frequently in the northeastern Hungarian dialect areas (Imre 1971:362) from which the ancestors of most of my McKeesport subjects originally came.

Throughout the verbal paradigm SH has a dichotomy of what is called the indefinite and definite conjugations: the verb is in the indefinite conjugation if it has no object or if its object is indefinite, and it is in the definite conjugation if it has a definite object. The mixing of the definite and indefinite conjugations occurs occasionally in the speech of all but one of the second-generation speakers, 46 times altogether in the McKeesport corpus. In eighteen of these occurrences the definite conjugation is used where SH would require the indefinite (as in 11a), and in the remaining cases the reverse is true (as in 11b).

(11) a. (:Hunky:)-nak fogják híni minket (vs. SH fognak)
Hunky-DAT FUT.3PL.DEF call.INF us
'They'll call us Hunky.'

b. megcsináltunk az éiteLet (vs. SH megcsináltuk)
PV.prepare.PAST.1PL.INDEF the food.ACC
'we prepared the food'

The lack of person and number agreement between subject and verb occurs occasionally in all but one of the second-generation speakers speech, 47 times in all. Typical examples are given in (12):

(12) a. de szülei lakik (:Sharon:)-be (vs. SH laknak)
but parent.PL.POSS.3SG live.3SG Sharon-INE
'but his parents live in Sharon'

b. mindenki meghaLtak (vs. SH meghalt)
everyone PV.die.PAST.3PL
'everyone died'

Lexical calques, which occur in the speech of all but two of the second-generation speakers, include AH *valamikor* 'sometimes' (SH *néha*), *öregország* 'old country' (SH *óhaza*), *papír* '(news)paper' (SH *újság*), *mozit mutat* 'show movies' (SH *filmet mutat*).

What I call the 'borrowing of sibling words' is the almost completely uniform tendency of second-generation speakers to use only the forms *fiútestvér* and *lánytestvér*, literally meaning 'boy sibling' and 'girl sibling', to refer to their own brothers and sisters. These forms exist in SH as well, but there they are used only if the sibling's relative age is unknown, or when both younger and older sisters or brothers are referred to collectively. Otherwise in SH, especially in individual reference to one's own siblings, only *bátya* 'older brother', *öcs* 'younger brother', *nővér* 'older sister', and *húg* 'younger sister' are used. The AH forms, in my opinion, are used as equivalents of English *brother* and *sister*.

4.3. Features shared by eight or more second-generation speakers

In the phonology, the features shared by at least half of the second-generation subjects are the following: the tapping of poststress intervocalic /d/ (abbreviated as Tap in Table 2), the realization of /r/ as a retroflex vocoid (RxR), the lengthening of short stressed vowels (VLe), the realization of /dʸ/ as [ǰ] (DyJ), the loss of coalescence (LCo), and the loss of *v*-assimilation (LvA).

The realization of poststress intervocalic /d/ as a tap occurs occasionally in 11 second-generation speakers, producing forms such as [ˈthuɾom] 'I know' and [ˈhiɾɛkɛt] 'bridges.ACC' instead of SH-like forms such as [ˈtudom] and [ˈhidɔkɔt]. This feature is completely missing in SH, where a tap occurs only as a very restricted allophone of the trill /r/, and even then only in free variation with the trill (Berney 1993:17).

The phoneme /r/ (a trill or tap in SH) is realized as a retroflex vocoid by nine second-generation speakers, with varying frequency. Typical examples are [ˈmɛɻt] 'because', [ˈtɛšveːɻ] 'sibling', and [ˈɻɛggɛɬ] 'morning' (cf. SH [ˈmɛrt], [ˈtɛštveːr], and [ˈrɛggɛl]).

The lengthening of short stressed vowels - a feature that does not occur at all in SH (Berney 1993:20) – occurs in 8 of the second-generation subjects' speech. So, for instance, instead of SH forms such as [tudom] 'I know', [ˈigɛn] 'yes', and [ˈkičit] 'a little' I often found [ˈtʰuːɾom], [ˈiːgɛn], and [ˈkʰiːčit].

The palatal stop /dʸ/ is realized as an affricate [ǰ], at least sometimes, in the speech of 11 second-generation speakers. Typical examples are [ˈǰɛɻɛk] 'child', [ˈhoǰ] 'how', and [ˈmonǰɔ] 's/he says', instead of SH forms such as [ˈdʸɛrɛk], [ˈhodʸ], and [ˈmonʸdʸɔ]. Interestingly, four of the speakers who have this feature also realize /dʸ/ as a [d] sometimes, and two speakers sometimes pronounce the affricate [č] instead of the palatal stop [tʸ].

Nine second-generation speakers exhibit the complete or partial loss of the SH rule of coalescence of coronal stops and a following /y/ into the geminated palatalized series of the stops, which is obligatory word-internally in SH. Thus forms such as /mɛn+yünk/ 'let's go', /mond+yɔ/ 's/he says', and /tɔniːt+yɔ/ 's/he teaches it' are realized by these speakers as [ˈmɛnyünk], [ˈmondyɔ], and [ˈtɔniːtyɔ], replacing [ˈmɛnʸnʸünk], [ˈmonʸdʸɔ], and [ˈtɔniːtʸtʸɔ]).

The loss of the assimilation of the /v/ of the instrumental suffix *-val/-vel* to a stem-final consonant occurs in the speech of 8 of the second-generation speakers. Thus, for

instance, instead of the SH [ˈsülɛimmɛl] 'with my parents' and [ˈčɔla:ddɔl] 'with family', these speakers say [ˈsülɛimvɛl] and [ˈčɔla:dvɔl], respectively.

In the morphology, at least half of the second-generation speakers have violations of preverb use (Pv), loss of possessive suffixes outside the dative possessive construction (Lp), and regularization of irregular stems (Ir) in their speech.

Violations of preverb usage occur in the speech of 12 of the second-generation speakers: they include the replacement of one preverb by another in preverb-verb constructions, e.g. *le-zár bányát* 'close down a coal mine' instead of SH *be-zár bányát*, lit. 'close in a coal mine'; the simplification of preverb-verb constructions, with the perfective preverbs *el-* and *meg-* being replaced by *ki-* or *be-*, as in *be-megy a katonaságba* 'enter the army' instead of SH *el-megy katonának*, or *ki-jön a gyárból* 'leave the factory' instead of SH *el-megy a gyárból*); and the replacement of one preverb-verb construction by another, e.g. *rá-teszi a rádióműsort* 'turn on the radio program' instead of SH *be-kapcsolja a rádióműsort*, or *le-tesz valakit* 'lay somebody off' instead of SH *el-bocsát valakit*.

The loss of possessive personal suffixes in constructions other than the dative possessive, inwhich the loss occurs for both first- and second-generation speakers (see above under features characteristic of both generations), occasionally occurs in the speech of 9 second-generation subjects. Typical examples are *az öR mama* 'his mother' (instead of SH *az ő mamája*), *az idöseb tesvér* 'my older sibling' (instead of SH *az idősebb testvérem*), and *decembeR hetedik van* 'it's December 7th' (instead of SH *december hetedike van*).

Regularization of irregular stems occurs in the speech of nine second-generation speakers, as in e.g. *szók* 'words', *hót* 'snow.ACC', *nehézen* 'in a hard way', and *szoboRt* 'statue.ACC' (vs. the irregular SH *szavak*, *havat*, *nehezen*, and *szobrot*).

The features of syntax that are characteristic of more than 8 of the second generation speakers are the following: lack of agreement between an attributive quantifier and its head noun (abbreviated as QN in Table 2), lack of number agreement between a plural noun and a predicative adjective (AN), use of syntactic calques (SC), and change in the meaning of the *szokott*-construction (Sz).

In Standard Hungarian qualifiers occur with singular nouns, but 9 second-generation speakers have a total of 25 occurrences of English-like constructions, with plural nouns, in such phrases. Typical examples are:

(13) a. sok magyar hoLmikat áruLnak (vs. SH sok … holmit (sg.))
many Hungarian thing.PL.ACC sell.3PL
'they sell lots of Hungarian things'

b. tizenédzs éivek (vs. SH tizennégy év (sg.))
fourteen year.PL
'fourteen years'

Eight of the second-generation speakers also have examples of lack of number agreement between a noun and a predicative adjective, in contrast to SH, which requires the adjective to be in the singular if the noun is singular and in the plural if the noun is plural; examples are given in (14):

(14) a. Tiz barátom mind magyarok voltak. (vs. SH magyar (sg.) volt)
ten friend.POSS.1SG all Hungarian.PL be.PAST.3PL
'Ten friends of mine were all Hungarian.'
b. ha rosz voltunk, kikaptunk (vs. SH rosszak (pl.))
if bad be.PAST.1PL be.punished.PAST.1PL
'if we were bad (=misbehaved), we were punished.'

Syntactic calques, i.e. AH sentences that completely follow American English (AmE) sentence structure where the SH equivalent would have a different structure (Kontra 1990:84), occur in 8 of the second-generation subjects' samples, and include the following examples:

(15) a. nem tudom, ha valaki monta (vs. SH hogy valaki mondta-e,
not know.1SG if somebody say.PAST.3SG lit. 'that somebody said')
'I don't know if somebody said it...'
b. mind a gyerekek (vs. SH az összes gyerek,
all the child.PL lit. 'the all child')
'all the children'
c. az nyouc orakor regeL van (vs. SH reggel nyolc órakor,
that eight hour.TEMP morning be.3SG lit. 'morning 8 o'clock')
'it's at 8 o'clock in the morning'

In SH the construction involving the auxiliary *szokott* and the infinitive of the main verb refers to a habitual action occurring in the present; in the speech of 8 the second-generation McKeesport speakers it refers to a habitual action in the past. A typical example is given in (16):

(16) Mikor dougosztam... szoktunk magyaruL beszélni.
when work.PAST.1SG AUX.1PL Hungarian.ESS speak.INF
'When I worked, we used to speak Hungarian.'

The one lexical feature that is characteristic of most second-generation speakers is the presence of intralingual deviations, i.e. forms in which SH words are used either in a wrong nonsensical form (e.g. *egyitomba* 'to university' vs. SH *egyetemre*, or *oroszló* 'Italian' vs. SH *olasz*), or with the meaning of a phonologically similar word (e.g. *nyugatra* 'to west', with the intended meaning of 'to retirement', SH *nyugdíjba*). Such forms occasionally occur in eleven of the second-generation speakers' speech but never in first-generation speakers.

5. The Hungarian of the immigrants

In addition to the features discussed in section 2, which are shared by both generations of speakers, the immigrants' Hungarian is characterized by a number of other non-SH features.

There are no features that characterize the first generation alone with one near-exception: the occasional realization of word-initial /v/ as [w], as in [ˈwissɔ] 'back' and [ˈwɔš] 'iron' instead of SH [ˈvissɔ] and [ˈvɔš]. (SH does not have [w] either as a phoneme or as an allophone.) This feature occurs in the speech of three of the four first-generation speakers and just one in a second-generation subject in the word [ˈwɔšdʸaːr] 'steel mill'.

Otherwise, the Hungarian of first-generation speakers appears to be much more intact and SH-like than that of the second-generation.

Two interesting clusters of features should be noted, however. One is a handful of features – all of them discussed in section 2 above – that occur in the samples from the two earlier immigrants who came to the U.S. in 1956, but not in those of the two more recent immigrants. These are stress change in phrases, the loss of possessive personal suffixes in the dative possessive construction, and the loss of focus-movement. The other one is a small number of features, all of which are characteristic of the at least 8 of the second-generation speakers, which all occur in the data from one and the same 1956 immigrant speaker (but do not occur at all in data from the other three immigrants): the velarization of /l/, the mixing of the conjugations, the regularization of irregular stems, the lack of agreement between attributive quantifiers and their head nouns, and the presence of syntactic calques.

The presence of these two clusters of features indicates that in the speech of one and two speakers, respectively, none of these features are confined to second-generation, that is, 'incomplete-acquirer' speakers, but can occur in the case of speakers who completely acquired Hungarian before they found themselves in an English-speaking environment. Also, the presence of these clusters of features might also indicate an apparent-time effect in that these might be features that occur in first-generation, that is, 'forgetter' speakers after a significant period of bilingualism with AmE, as in the case of the two earlier immigrants, but not earlier. However, because of the small size of the first-generation speaker sample in my data, I cannot offer more than just these tentative observations.

6. Patterns of borrowing and language attrition

In my detailed description of AH as spoken in McKeesport in Fenyvesi (1995a), I categorized every feature that I identified as to whether it was the result of borrowing from AmE, the result of language attrition, or the result of the effect of both. In identifying features that were the result of borrowing, I used Thomason & Kaufman's definition of borrowing as 'the incorporation of foreign elements of the speakers' native language' (1988:21), i.e. as comprising both structural and lexical borrowings. I followed the definition of language attrition as reduction, i.e. loss of linguistic elements without concomitant complication elsewhere in the linguistic system, aaccompanied also by simplification through regularization (cf. Mühlhäusler (1977), for instance). Those changes that could be analyzed both as the incorporation of foreign elements and as reduction or simplification I categorized as resulting from both borrowing and attrition, i.e. as change affected by multiple causation.

When the sources of all 52 non-SH features identified in McKeesport Hungarian are considered,[6] we arrive at the global picture summarized in Table 3. We can see that slightly less than half of all the features occur only with second-generation speakers, i.e. the 'imperfect learners', and does not occur with the first-generation speakers, the 'forgetters'. Whether these are changes that truly would never occur in forgetters' speech is impossible to tell from my findings alone, since these might be features that could appear in the forgetters' speech under more intense contact with AmE or just after a longer period of time.

[6] Due to obvious space limitations, I am not able to present my arguments for the categorization of all of the features according to their source in this paper. The interested reader is hereby referred to my detailed analysis and discussions in Fenyvesi (1995a).

In the McKeesport community, immigrants' Hungarian is affected mostly by changes that are at least partly the result of borrowing, and only to a lesser extent by changes that are the result of attrition. The second generation is, however, affected by attrition to a greater extent than the first generation, and here the proportion of at least partly attrition-related changes is higher as well. These findings, however, have to be viewed also in the following context: the effect of speech accommodation in both directions, i.e. the effect of immigrants' more SH-like speech on the Hungarian of the second generation, and vice versa. In other words, because in this community the first- and second-generation speakers live and communicate together, it is impossible to tell, for instance, which features the speakers of each generation would or would not have if their Hungarian were completely isolated from and unaffected by the speech of the other generation.

Table 3. Number of features, according to source, by generation.

Generation: / Features:	1st generation	2nd generation
Result of borrowing (20)	13	20
Result of combined effect of borrowing and attrition (28)	13	28
Result of attrition (4)	1	4
Total:	27	52

Curiously, I haven't been able to establish any implicational scales that could exist in relation of the features to each other. No implicational scales can be proposed even for a set of features that could plausibly be interrelated implicationally such as, for instance, the four assimilations (the voicing assimilation, the coalescence, the *v*-assimilation, and the *l*-assimilation, i.e. the complete assimilation of /l/ to a following /y/ word-internally at a morpheme boundary); this is demonstrated by the summary of the findings in Table 4 below.

Table 4. The presence of assimilations by subject. (N=19)[7] (Fenyvesi (1995b))

Subjects:	f1	f2	f3	f4	s1	s2	s3	s4	s5	s6	s7	s8	s9	s10	s11	s12	s13	s14	s15
Voicing	+	+	+	+	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-
Coalesc.	+	+	+	+	+/-	+/-	+/-	+	+/-	-	+	+	Ø	+/-	+/-	+	-	-	Ø
L-assim.	+	+	+	+	+	+	Ø	Ø	+	+	-	-	+	Ø	+/-	+/-	Ø	+	-
V-assim.	+	+	+	+	+	+/-	+	+/-	-	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	-	-	Ø	-	-

Some things, however, are possible to state on the basis of my findings. The varying presence or absence of features across speakers, as well as the large proportion of „+/-„ specifications, which are clearly noticeable from Tables 1-3 even at a casual glance, indicate the development of a high degree of inter- and intra-speaker variability – a feature that Campbell & Muntzel (1989) identify as one of the main structural characteristics of language death situations. The findings also exhibit two other major features of language death situations put forward by Campbell & Muntzel: the elimination of phonological distinctions (through the elimination of phonemic palatalized stops and as the result of the loss of coalescence), and extensive borrowing (or „acts of reception", in Campbell & Muntzel's terms).

7. Conclusions

In this paper I have provided a summary of my findings from a detailed study of American Hungarian as spoken in McKeesport, PA, and I have also outlined the main general tendencies and observations that the findings allow me to point out. In spite of certain limitations in the study which I am aware of and which I have referred to throughout this paper, I am confident that with its identification of the sets of features and the identification of the respective groups of subjects that these sets of features are characteristic of, it still provides useful information and a preliminary starting point for the further study of American Hungarian.

My most important aim has been in this paper to show that in the language contact situation in question, where language loss is clearly demonstrable, the majority of the

[7] I considered data by 19 subjects, instead of all 20, for my analysis of the assimilations in McKeesport Hungarian due to the fact that one of the second-generation subjects failed to produce examples of three of the four assimilations in her sample.

linguistic features nevertheless stem from the combined effect of borrowing and language attrition, and not just from language attrition alone.

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